

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 1832

FOR POLANSKY FROM LOEBNER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: TGEN, UR, US

SUBJECT: NSC CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF SPECIALIZED BILATERALS

REF: STATE 18359

1. REPLY DELAYED SINCE REFTEL ARRIVED DURING ABSENCE FROM MOSCOW WHILE ACCOMPANYING GAS DELEGATION. FOLLOWING ARE GENERAL COMMENTS.

2. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE NETWORK OF COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS, AS UNDERSTOOD AT MOSCOW EMBASSY, IS THE ENGAGEMENT OF BROAD SEGMENTS OF THE SOVIET TECHNOCRACY IN JOINT WORK WITH US ORGANIZATIONS IN ORDER TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO CONCRETE PROBLEMS FACING THE TWO SOCIETIES. THIS REQUIRES ESTABLISHMENT, DEVELOPMENT, MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF MULTIFACETED CONTACTS BETWEEN HUNDREDS OF US AND SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS. IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A PERSPECTIVE ON THE STATUS OF ACHIEVING THIS OBJECTIVE, IT IS CONVENIENT TO SPECIFY THE STEPS THAT THE US SIDE HAS TO TAKE. EIGHT SUCH STEPS ARE: (1) IDENTIFICATION OF SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS AVAILABLE IN AREAS OF POTENTIAL INTEREST TO UNITED STATES FOR THE PURPOSE OF FUTURE S&T COOPERATION. (2) NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIETS TO DEVISE SHORT-TERM PROGRAMS TO ENABLE US (AND THEM) TO BECOME SUFFICIENTLY ACQUAINTED WITH AREAS OF INTEREST TO FUTURE COOPERATION. (3) BECOMING ACQUAINTED THROUGH EXCHANGE OF VISITS, REPORTS, AND JOINT SYMPOSIA WITH SOVIET SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND THEIR UTILIZATION IN SOVIET ECONOMY AND SOCIETY. (4) EVALUATION OF THE INFORMATION RECEIVED IN LIGHT OF THE OVERALL OBJECTIVE; SETTING OF SPECIFIC GOALS FOR US-USSR COOPERATION. (5) NEGOTIATIONS

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WITH SOVIETS TO SELECT PROJECTS AND DEFINE THEIR MEANS OF IMPLEMENTA-

TION. (6) ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED JOINT PROJECTS.  
(7) EVALUATION OF COMPLETED PROJECTS, MILESTONES OF PROJECTS, ETC.  
(8) FOLLOW-UP TO ASCERTAIN THE ULTIMATE DISPOSITION AND IMPACT OF THE RESULTS OF THE JOINT EFFORT IN TERMS OF CONCRETE BENEFITS WITHIN THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND/OR ELSEWHERE.

3. OF ALL AGREEMENTS, ONLY ONE (SPACE) HAS THUS FAR COMPLETED A MAJOR PROJECT--ASTP. THIS EFFORT, VERY COSTLY TO BOTH COUNTRIES, REAPED SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL RETURNS BY VISIBLY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS CAN WORK TOGETHER IN CLOSE PROXIMITY, MEET SCHEDULES AND OVERCOME OBSTACLES. REMARKABLY, BOTH SIDES ALSO SUCCEEDED IN THE AGREED-TO ELIMINATION OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER IN A PROJECT QUITE CLOSELY ALLIED TO MILITARY KNOW-HOW. THE PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE AND CLOCKWORK PRECISION EXHIBITED DURING THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SPACESHIP RENDEZVOUS REPRESENTS A MEANINGFUL STEP TOWARD COEXISTENCE FROM A PAST DOMINATED BY US-USSR SPACE RIVALRY.

4. EXPERIENCE WITH MOST OF THE OTHER, MUCH SMALLER PROJECTS UNDER THE US-USSR SPECIALIZED BILATERALS INDICATES THAT WITHOUT FULL-TIME DEDICATED TECHNICAL MANAGEMENT, SUCH EFFORTS ARE MUCH MORE VULNERABLE TO NUMEROUS IMPEDIMENTS INHERENT IN THE TWO LARGEST BUREAUCRACIES OF THE WORLD. SINCE PERFORMANCE HAS DEPENDED STRONGLY ON THE ABILITIES, DEDICATION, PERSONALITIES AND INITIATIVE OF OVER A HUNDRED DIFFERENT PROJECT LEADERS AND IMPLEMENTERS IN BOTH COUNTRIES; IT HAS BEEN SPOTTY.

5. WHILE EACH AGREEMENT AND EACH PROJECT OPERATES UNDER A UNIQUE SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONDITIONS WHICH CODETERMINE THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF THE COOPERATION, A VARIETY OF GENERAL FEATURES NEVERTHELESS CAN BE DISCERNED. A) "SCIENCE" PROJECTS. THOSE PROJECTS WHICH TEND TO BE BASED ON PURE SCIENCE, SUCH AS CHEMICAL CATALYSIS, EARTHQUAKE PREDICTION, OCEANOGRAPHY, MEDICAL SCIENCE, ETC., GET STARTED QUICKLY. THEY EXHIBIT EASIER AND MORE RAPID ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMON GOALS AND UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN AMERICAN AND SOVIET SCIENTISTS. FOR THE MOST PART THE LEADING FIGURES ON BOTH SIDES HAVE KNOWN EACH OTHER FOR A LONG TIME THROUGH INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS AND PUBLICATIONS AND HAVE A RELATIVELY EASY TIME IN OVERCOMING BARRIERS OF LANGUAGE AND SCIENTIFIC STYLE. THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THIS TYPE OF BILATERAL COOPERATION  
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TEND TO BE DUE TO SCIENTISTS' LESS BUSINESSLIKE AND MORE FREE-WHEELING HABITS, RATHER THAN TO LACK OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF DIFFERENT CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY OF THEIR HOSTS. UNFORTUNATELY A SIGNIFICANT UNBALANCE IN ACCESS TO AND ASSIMILATION OF R&D INFORMATION, FAVORING THE SOVIETS, IS INTRODUCED INTO US-USSR COOPERATION THROUGH THE CONTROLS EXERCISED BY THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OVER THEIR SCIENTISTS AND THEIR PROGRAMS WHEN THEY INTENTIONALLY WITHHOLD VITAL INFORMATION FROM

THE US SIDE ON ITINERARIES AND SCHEDULES OF EXCHANGEES UNTIL THE EXCHANGEES ARRIVAL IN THE USSR. (IT MAY BE WISE TO CONSIDER EMULATING THE BRITISH, WHO HAVE ADOPTED A TOUGH ONE-FOR-ONE POLICY AND ARE DELAYING INVITATIONS TO SOVIET SCIENTISTS UNTIL VITAL EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON PROPOSED BRITISH VISITS IS PROVIDED BY SOVIET ACADEMY.) FURTHERMORE, BECAUSE OF LACK OF ADVANCED INSTRUMENTATION, SOVIET SCIENCE, IN GENERAL, EMPHASIZES THEORY AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OVER ACCURATE AND PRECISE DATA ACQUISITION. MANY JOINT PROJECTS IN OCEANOLOGY AND SEISMOLOGY UTILIZE THIS CIRCUMSTANCE GIVEN COMPLEMENTARITY BETWEEN AMERICAN AND SOVIET INVESTIGATORS AND BENEFIT FROM THE POOLING OF RESOURCES. B) "TECHNOLOGY" PROJECTS. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED WITH PROJECTS MORE TECHNOLOGY ORIENTED ARE QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE "SCIENCE" PROJECTS DISCUSSED ABOVE. MOST TECHNOLOGY-ORIENTED EXCHANGES ARE UNDER THE CLOSE SUPERVISION OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, WHICH HAS SEEN TO IT THAT, WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, ACCESS TO SOVIET INDUSTRIAL SITES, INSTITUTES AND OPERATIONS HAS BEEN OPEN AND ADEQUATE. ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR VISITS AND OTHER EXCHANGES ARE BETTER DEFINED, AND ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO IMPLEMENT THEM METICULOUSLY IN SPITE OF MULTIPARTY COORDINATION DIFFICULTIES. UNFORTUNATELY PROGRESS IN SETTING UP JOINT PROJECTS IN THE TECHNOLOGY AREA HAS BEEN EXCEEDINGLY SLOW. THIS HAS BEEN IN NO SMALL PART DUE TO THE INABILITY OF THE TWO SIDES TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S MODE OF OPERATION. THE EXPOSURE OF OUR PEOPLE TO SOVIET INDUSTRIAL PRACTICES IS A RELATIVELY NEW OCCURRENCE. IN VERY MANY CASES THE SOVIETS ARE OPENING UP FOR THE FIRST TIME THEIR INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES TO US TECHNOLOGISTS. THEIR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND MANAGERIAL STRUCTURE DIFFERS FUNDAMENTALLY FROM OURS. THIS DIFFERENT STRUCTURE HAS A PROFOUND AND OFTEN DECISIVE INFLUENCE ON THE SELECTION OF PARTICULAR TECHNICAL SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN ENERGY, TRANSPORTATION, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, HOUSING, CONSTRUCTION, WATER RESOURCES AND OTHERS. FURTHERMORE, MANY AMERICAN DELEGATIONS OF EXPERTS, CONFIDENTIAL

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ESPECIALLY THOSE ARRIVING IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR THE FIRST TIME, COME TO THEIR ASSIGNMENT WITHOUT PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OR PREPARATION. THEY OFTEN LACK ADEQUATE BRIEFINGS AND NECESSARY SUPPORT SUCH AS US INTERPRETERS. FEW VISITING DELEGATIONS SEEM TO BENEFIT FROM EXPERIENCES OF PREVIOUS GROUPS ON SIMILAR ASSIGNMENTS.

THE PRACTICE OF ARRIVING "COLD" IN THE USSR IS NOT ONLY COSTLY IN MONEY AND TIME BUT CAN HARDLY BE JUSTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF PROVIDING A FRESH AND UNBIASED VIEW. IN MANY CASES, OPPORTUNITIES TO LEARN ABOUT SOVIET PRACTICES AND STATE OF THE ART MAY NOT RECUR FOR LONG PERIODS OF TIME.

6. A SUBSTANTIAL SIDE BENEFIT OF BILATERAL COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS IS THE DAY-TO-DAY CONTACT AND CONSEQUENT PROVISION OF SIGNIFICANT INSIGHTS INTO RELATIONSHIPS AMONG AND WITHIN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT

SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DELINIATE SOME OF THE DIVISIONS OF AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY BETWEEN THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND THE STATE COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AS WELL AS THE "ENERGY" MINISTRIES AND THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR ATOMIC ENERGY. COOPERATION HAS PROVIDED FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE WELL-KNOWN LACK OF LATERAL COORDINATIONS AMONG PARALLEL ORGANIZATIONS AT LOWER ECHELONS. WE HAVE BEEN SURPRISED, HOWEVER, BY THE RAPIDITY WITH WHICH INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED AMONG VARIOUS SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS ONCE IT HAS REACHED POLICY LEVELS. WE EXPECT THAT CONTINUED COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, ENERGY, AND ENVIRONMENT, WILL NOT ONLY ELUCIDATE FURTHER THE COMPLEX SYSTEM OF SOVIET TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRY BUT ALSO PROVIDE THE US WITH ADDITIONAL HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS WITHIN THE SOVIET POLITICAL-TECHNICAL HIERARCHY.

7. IN ADDITION TO ABOVE OVERALL COMMENTS WE INTEND TO SUPPLY A LIST OF SPECIFIC COMMENTS PER PARAGRAPH TWO OF REFTEL. THUS FAR WE HAVE RECEIVED ONLY EIGHT OF TEN LEAD AGENCY INPUTS. ENVIRONMENT AND AGRICULTURE HAVE NOT YET ARRIVED. STOESSEL

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